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CREIGHTON LECTURE

RACE SENTIMENT AS
A FACTOR IN HISTORY

A LECTURE DELIVERED BEFORE THE
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON ON
FEBRUARY 22, 1915

BY THE RIGHT HON.
VISCOUNT BRYCE, O.M.

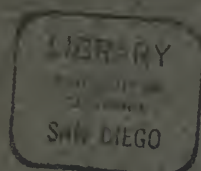


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RACE SENTIMENT AS A FACTOR IN HISTORY

No branches of historical inquiry have suffered more from fanciful speculation than those which relate to the origin and attributes of the races of mankind. The differentiation of these races began in prehistoric darkness, and the more obscure a subject is, so much the more fascinating. Hypotheses are tempting, because though it may be impossible to verify them, it is, in the paucity of data, almost equally impossible to refute them. Many tests have been suggested for determining the affinities of racial groups, but none has proved adequate. Language cannot be trusted, because we know of instances in which peoples have lost their original tongue and adopted another. Bodily characters have been tried, but it is often doubtful to what race the skulls found in ancient sepulchres belong, and some craniologists admit that the shape of the skull is not constant. One of these has lately gone so far as to declare that cephalic measurements of children born to Italian immigrants dwelling in New York indicate a shape different from that of the parental heads. Some writers have sought to represent certain political and social institutions as characteristic of certain linguistic families of mankind. When, however, it was found that the popular assembly—the Agora of Homeric Greece

and the Folkmót of Saxon England—once supposed to be the peculiar glory of the Aryan peoples, could be paralleled by the Pitlo of South African Basutos, this doctrine withered up and died. Neither has the attempt to determine racial affinities by the possession of a common stock of superstitions or religious rites and usages been more successful. Whoever looks into that vast treasury of folklore which the lifelong labours of Sir James Frazer have given us in the volumes called *The Golden Bough*, will find that certain religious beliefs and ceremonial usages have prevailed over most of the world in forms practically identical. Traces survive in Western Europe of superstitions now alive among the aborigines of Queensland. Some day, no doubt, we may discover solid ground for a theory of race origins and race affinities, but at present we are only groping and guessing.

Even as regards the existing human stocks, for the study of which we have ample materials, how little is scientifically known! What are the pure (*i. e.* the unmixed) races? Is there any such thing as a really pure race, one in which no considerable intermingling of divers elements has occurred within historical times? Iceland is the only European country in which the population has remained, since it was peopled by Norsemen more than a thousand years ago, unaffected by immigration or conquest. Disraeli used to speak of his own race as quite pure, but we know that it received numerous accretions from without during the Middle Ages; and a recent able and very learned Anglo-German writer (Houston Stewart Chamberlain), in his *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, argues that in the days

of the old Monarchy Israel was already largely Canaanitish. Indeed, he hints that King David was probably half an Amorite, which means for him an Indo-European or Aryan, that is to say, in the last resort a German, since the German is the highest specimen of the Indo-European family. Much more, then (so he argues), must we deem Solomon to have been very little of an Israelite, seeing that his mother, Bathsheba, who had been the wife of Uriah the Hittite, was presumably herself a Hittite. "Thus we should have an explanation of the peculiar incompatibility between Solomon's nature and aims and the character of Israel and Judah."¹

Similarly, the importance of what may be called the racial constituent in national character has been much exaggerated. Something is due to it, but much more is due to the conditions physical and economic and social under which the nation has been developed. In the thought and imagination of every civilised people there is an unquestionable racial strain. But the habit of referring to this cause practical aptitudes, such as the merits or defects visible in a nation's political life, has been pushed much too far.² Do we not see even in our own time how quickly a people may pass from one phase of character into

¹ Vol. I., p. 386, of English translation.

² Has not the practice of explaining the characters of prominent individuals by their racial qualities been also overdone? King George III, for instance, has long been regarded as a typical Englishman, yet he had practically not a drop of English blood in his veins, being mostly German, with a very little Scotch, and a still smaller trace of Welsh. Mr. H. S. Chamberlain, on the other hand, is in his wide learning and his ingenuity typically a German, but in blood purely English. Environment and education, moulding ideas and implanting habits, how far do they not go?

another, and begin to show features alien to its own past? The distinctive qualities which are now visible in each nation are at least as much the consequences as the causes of its history. When other explanations are available it is unscientific to resort to the Disraelian notion, equally easy and unverifiable, that "Race is everything." The peoples of South America at one end of the world and the Japanese at the other may, under the swiftly changing conditions of this age, be entirely different a century hence from what they are now, even though they receive no mixture of new blood.

With all these large and still obscure parts of the subject I have, however, nothing to do to-day; and I mention them only to indicate the difficulties which surround it and the comparatively small progress yet made in its investigation. For the purposes of this present lecture let us pass by all questions of the origin and the affinities and the special peculiar attributes and gifts of the various human stocks, and take them to be just what the ordinary books of geography and history represent them, calling them by familiar names which embody no theory. It is only one quite definite and limited inquiry that I propose to undertake, and one which falls within the region of authentic records. What part has been played in history by the conscious sentiment of Race? How far have feelings of racial sympathy or of racial antagonism affected peoples in strengthening their sense of national unity and their national pride? How often have such feelings prompted friendship with nations of the same, or enmity towards nations of a different stock? We all know for how much religious hatred has at

various times counted in international relations, and what effect traditions of ancient intercourse and reciprocal good will have had on political relations, as, for instance, between France and Scotland in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Can it be said that race sympathy has worked in like manner as an active force in the international policy of States? This is a question that is to be elucidated by, and only by, a review of the events which history records. *A priori* arguments and hypotheses are out of place. So let us float quickly down the stream of time, searching for such evidences of the action of racial sentiment as can be discerned, just as an explorer in some river of the Canadian West might, while his canoe is swept along by the current, seek to discover on the banks traces of native wigwams or camping grounds.

But before starting on such a voyage let us distinguish race feeling, in the strict sense, from two things with which it is liable to be confounded—the Tribal Instinct, and the sentiment of Nationality.

By the Tribal Instinct I mean that natural tendency which draws men towards those who resemble themselves in aspect, in speech and in customs—especially religious customs. The small human aggregates in which social organisation begins, *Phratriæ* in Greece, *Gentes* in Italy, clans among the Celts, tribes in many other peoples, were squeezed together by the necessities of self-defence against other such aggregates, and each became a sort of large family. Indeed, they often deemed themselves to be blood relatives sprung from a common ancestor, and they were known to their neighbours by a common name. The tie between

their members was, therefore, very close, the sense of duty to the tribe and its chief extremely strong. Such aggregates were, however, not racially, perhaps not linguistically, different from other such tribes around them; yet their hostility to those tribes might be just as fierce as it was towards tribes of a stock quite dissimilar. Kinship and loyalty to the chieftain, rather than a sense of belonging to the same race, were the bonds of union. One sees this in the relations to one another of the cognate tribes of ancient Mexico just as in the bitter feuds that raged between the Gaelic clans in Scotland.

The sentiment of nationality on the other hand, which belongs to a more advanced stage of social progress, may have in it a comparatively slender racial element. That sentiment is the product of many things, such as a common language and literature, traditions and the memory of past exploits, a sense of collective interest, a belief in national institutions, perhaps even in a "national mission." If the race and the people are conterminous these sentiments may strengthen and elevate national consciousness as a whole. Yet you may have a nationality composed of different races and speaking different tongues as in Switzerland, in Belgium and in Canada. You may have communities of practically the same race yet divided into various and perhaps hostile nations, such as the republics of Spanish America. To-day, however, I am asking you to think not of tribes but of peoples, and the question to be examined is how far peoples have been influenced in their historical careers by the sense of belonging to a particular stock or branch of mankind, as distinguished from the other motives

which dispose them to befriend or to dislike their neighbour peoples. Race sentiment is one of the elements which go to make up national sentiment and national pride. It helps to make a people cohesive. That is clear enough; but how far does the power of race sentiment extend beyond national boundaries as a factor determining national action? History is sometimes represented as a record of the long conflict of races. Many such conflicts there have been, but the problem I ask you to consider recognises that fact as part of the case and goes on to put a further question: How far have races striven with one another because they knew that they were Races, separate families of mankind diverse in blood?

Let us begin with the ancient world. It was a world full of strife. "War," says Plato, "is the natural relation between all cities."¹ The stranger is presumably an enemy. If he speaks a different tongue he is even more likely to be deemed an enemy because he cannot explain his (possibly friendly) intentions. Of the endless wars that went on in that ancient world, wars of robbery between tribes, wars of conquest between better organised cities or kingdoms, some were waged between nations of different stocks. Such were the conquering marches of the Egyptian kings Thothmes and Rameses, such those of the rulers of Assyria and Babylon. Such, too, were the expeditions of the Achæmenid kings of Persia against Egypt, the Scythians and the Greeks. These, however, were not prompted by racial feeling but were mere efforts at conquest. Through all those early ages we find

¹ Πόλεμος φύσει ὑπάρχει πρὸς ἀπάσας τὰς πόλεις.

only three peoples in whom there may seem to have existed a sort of racial consciousness. One was the Phœnician. When the Persian kings called upon the Phœnicians of Tyre and Sidon, of which they were suzerains, to furnish naval contingents in their expeditions, the Phœnicians, quite willing to fight their maritime rivals the Greeks, stipulated that they should not be required to serve against their kinsfolk of Carthage with whom they had maintained relations of friendship. Another was the Greeks. Feeling their intellectual superiority, they looked down upon all their neighbours, even the Italians who were destined to vanquish them. They had a kind of Pan-Hellenic sentiment which drew most of them together to resist first Darius and then Xerxes, and which now and then induced one city to send help to another hard pressed by Persians; but they fought just as often and as fiercely among themselves. Thebes and Plataea hated each other as heartily as any Greek hated any barbarian. And they could admire barbarians. When Xenophon writes a sort of ethico-historical romance, he makes the Persian conqueror Cyrus its hero. The third people in whom a strong national passion is visible was Israel. There are features in its history which may seem to indicate a racial antagonism to its neighbours. The Book of Joshua, which, to be sure, is far from being a contemporary record, describes the slaughter of the whole population of captured Canaanite cities. Saul, on the fatal field of Gilboa, bids his armour-bearer kill him, lest he fall into the hands of the uncircumcised Philistines. Yet Israel was willing not only to intermarry with Amorites and Hittites and Jebusites, but also to adopt their gods; and

down till the end of the monarchy, prophets were vainly striving to bring them back to the worship of Jehovah only. Edom and Moab and the Beni Ammon were held by Israel to be of kindred stock, for Edom is in the Book of Genesis traced to Abraham, the other two tribes to his nephew Lot, yet the enmity between them was intense. They never thought of helping one another against the Assyrian invader.

When the curtain rises upon Italy we find there also peoples and city states differing in blood and speech. Besides those of Latin or Oscan stock, there were Greek immigrants in the south, Etruscans, and, somewhat later, Gauls in the north. Wars among them were incessant, but these wars had little to do with racial distinctions, of which indeed we hear much less than ethnologists would like to know.

Neither was Rome (herself with a population of mixed blood), during the centuries of her conquering career, influenced by such sentiments. No people was ever prouder than the Romans, nor with better reason. Yet, though in the fulness of their strength they held themselves called by Fate to rule the world, they showed little contempt for their provincial subjects and no racial aversion. Among those subjects, once they had been conquered, we hear of extremely few revolts, such as wounded national feeling might have prompted. The long and terrible struggle with the Semites of Carthage was a strife of races, but it was a struggle for dominion, not one of the Italian against the Phœnician. Of the great poets who adorned the literary ages of Rome only Lucretius was Roman born. Virgil and Catullus were probably Celts, as the one came from Mantua

and the other from Verona; Ovid was a Pelignian from the Adriatic Coast, Propertius an Umbrian, Horace the son of a freedman from Apulia; Seneca and Lucan belonged to a Spanish family, Statius came from Naples, Juvenal from Aquinum. Yet none of them seems to have been in any way disparaged on the score of his non-Roman origin. When the imperial system had come to embrace the civilised world, every office—even that of Emperor—soon lay open to every man of every sort of blood. Trajan, the greatest sovereign since Augustus, was a Spaniard. Only two races seem to have been objects of aversion. The Egyptians were considered an unattractive people—conceited and quarrelsome—and though Isis and Serapis had their votaries at Rome, the beast worship as it was practised at Memphis excited disgust. The Jews were disliked, not as Orientals, but on grounds which were rather creditable to them than otherwise. They were active and pushing; they held together and helped one another. Because they kept aloof and refused to acknowledge the gods of the heathen they were accused of hating the human race. Nevertheless, not a few educated Romans, who found no satisfaction in the outworn official religion, or even in Greek philosophy, were attracted to Judaism, of which Christianity was for a long time deemed to be only a form. Even towards the most formidable nations that stood outside the Empire, the sense of racial antagonism was not very strong. Tacitus holds up to admiration the simple virtues of the Germans who were already threatening the northern frontiers. Claudian's finest verses celebrate the prowess of the Vandal Stilicho. The patriotic pride of Procopius, himself a Greek-speaking Syrian,

resents the arrogance of the Sassanid kings of Persia, but there is little in his pages to indicate that the conflict with these terrible enemies is in his view a conflict of races as well as of great Powers.

We moderns think of those southward and westward migrations of many tribes, which the Germans call the "Völkerwanderung," and which brought the East Goths and Lombards into Italy, the Vandals into Africa, the West Goths into Spain, the Franks into Gaul and the Angles into Britain, as a gigantic Race Movement. Such, indeed, it was, but men did not so think of it while it was happening. The provincial subjects of the Empire saw the conquerors, as they streamed in, admiring Roman arts and adopting the Roman religion. In the writers of the time one finds few, if any, suggestions of a natural opposition, much less of enmity, between Teutonic and Latin peoples. On the part of the invaders, except the savage Huns, there is respect, rising almost to awe, for the civilisation they found, and very little destruction of its monuments. No sign in the West Gothic Alaric, or the East Gothic Theodoric, of any such vengeful passion as is expressed in Byron's famous line, "Arise ye Goths, and glut your ire."

We now come down to those Dark and Middle Ages which used to be called the Ages of Faith, and which were at any rate the ages of ecclesiasticism. There we find ourselves in a new world, in which the real distinctions are those of religion and church polity, and there is even less notion than there had been in Hellenic or Roman times of alliances or hostilities springing out of differences in blood and speech. They were ages of incessant strife, but when

men were not fighting for booty or conquest they were fighting to propagate their own creeds or worships. From the Arab invasion of Syria, soon after Mohammed's death, down to the Balkan War of 1912, there has been raging a seldom interrupted conflict between Islam and Christianity. The Christians did not know, and would not have cared if they had known, to what branch of the human family their Arab, or Moorish, or Turkish enemies belonged: it was enough that they were followers of Mahound. "Unbeliever" was on each side the watchword of enmity. Inside Islam there was not then, and to only a slight extent has ever been, any race discrimination. That a dark skin should have excited little or no repulsion in the ancient world, from the days of Homer, who makes Zeus and the other gods pay a honorific visit to the blameless Ethiopians, is easily explained, for very few full blacks made their way into the civilised countries. But neither are the colour and the features of a negro found repellent in such Mussulman countries as Egypt, Turkey or Persia. To be a true believer is to be every one's equal. The Turk is, no doubt, disliked both by Persians and by Arabs, for both of them fear his ruthless will, while they despise his intelligence. But this dislike has led to no solidarity amongst Arabs against the Turk, while the enmity of the Persians is rooted in the ecclesiastical hatred of Sunnis and Shiahs. We read the other day in the newspapers that some Arab tribes of Irak, who had been on the point of siding with the British forces against the Turkish Sultan, paused when they learnt that he had, as Khalif, proclaimed a Jihad against the infidel. It is religion that counts.

Within Christendom there were some national

animosities which might seem on the surface to be race conflicts. The Teutonic Emperors strove for four centuries to establish their dominion in Italy, but they fought for a claim of right which all Italians admitted in theory, though many resisted it in practice. The real issue was not between Germans and Latins, but between the pretensions of the secular and those of the spiritual power, with Italian princes and cities ranged on both sides alike. Dante, most patriotic of Italians, welcomes the Germanic Emperor Henry VII. There was no hatred of Italians for Germans, like that which we recall from our youth, when Austrian governors held their reign of terror in Milan and Venice. Neither was there, in the long wars of England and France, any general national opposition of the combatants. Edward III and his sons were as much Frenchmen as Englishmen, and it was a French archbishop (no doubt under English pressure), who condemned Joan of Arc. That which Dante singles out as the most bitter animosity of his time—"the pride which makes the Englishman and the Scot mad"¹—had nothing racial in it, for the two peoples spoke the same tongue and had much the same character, the Gael of the Highlands coming hardly at all into question. So in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries there was no more envenomed hostility than that of Danes and Swedes, yet they were as near of kin as any two peoples in Europe.

Another long sweep of the Time-stream brings us into a new landscape. With the great ecclesiastical revolt of the sixteenth century there begins in Germany, France and Britain, the period of the Wars of

¹ *Paradiso*, canto xix, line 121.

Religion. These are entangled with the dynastic ambitions of the sovereigns of France, Spain, Austria and the lesser German States, but the religious issue was generally involved, and religious antagonism so strong as to leave little room for the growth of race consciousness. Nearly every race was, in fact, itself divided, for though the Protestant element was stronger in the Teutonic than in the Celtic and in the so-called Latin countries, yet Teutonic Antwerp and Cologne and Munich were Catholic; while French-speaking Geneva and Vaud and parts of Southern France, as well as some Piedmontese valleys, were Calvinist.

Where these divisions existed, they retarded, especially in Germany, the growth of a national consciousness, while, on the other hand, the countries which were whole-heartedly either Roman Catholic or Protestant felt themselves more thoroughly united and more exultant in their collective character and achievements. Spain, under Charles V and his first two successors, is an example. Marked as were the differences between Castile and Aragon and Andalusia, all Spaniards had been drawn together by the long struggle against the Moors, and they had become almost a militant Church as well as a military people. In England the sense of national unity and national pride sprang into full life in the days of Elizabeth, under the stimulus of the strife with Spain, carried on far beyond our own narrow seas. The religious issues involved as well as the sense of world competition had roused the people in a way unknown before, calling forth an emotion that sprang from deeper fountains than even loyalty to a king or the joy of knightly deeds on many a foreign field.

Everywhere, except in Italy and the Germanic Empire, real nations were beginning to emerge from the welter of the Middle Ages, and when in the eighteenth century the religious wars had come to an end, and the diverse local elements in each country had been melted into one, there appeared in each a national consciousness, accompanied, especially as between Spain and Portugal, between Spain and France, between Russia and Poland, and between England and France, by a national antagonism. Yet both in the consciousness and the antagonism the racial strain was weak. No nation, hardly even France, which had most claim to lead the rest, vaunted its own art or letters to the disparagement of others: each was willing, and very wisely, to learn what it could from without. In Germany, for instance, despite the long wars which the House of Hapsburg and other German potentates had to sustain against the power of Louis XIV, French fashions and manners were everywhere copied. Peter the Great had gone to Holland and England to find what he could carry back to his rude people. Frederick the Great, who had with difficulty held his ground against the armies of France, wrote treatises and verses in French and was never so happy as when he could draw French men of science or letters to his Court. Yet before the end of his reign there had come a change, and though Lessing could not understand what was called the love of country—"it is to me at best a heroic weakness"—he lived to see the first stirrings of a national spirit in Germany.

Before, however, we come to that new Europe which the French Revolution called into being, let

us turn back to consider some facts, lying a little off the main stream of history, which illustrate the phenomena of race contact and admixture.

In the ninth century, the region which lies south of the Baltic, eastward from the Elbe, seems to have been occupied by Slavonic or Lithuanian tribes. Brandenburg, now the heart of Prussia, was then a Wendish stronghold. Into this region the Teutons from the south and west advanced, and a long strife followed in which the latter, stronger and better organised, everywhere prevailed. The later stages of the process were comparatively peaceful, and the Germanisation of the country was so complete that it has left no angry memories now surviving. The Wendish tongue is, or was very recently, spoken about Meissen in Lusatia, the region lying along the Elbe below Dresden, and the population of Mecklenburg is still mostly of Slavonic origin. How far the character of the present inhabitants of all these regions has been differentiated by the admixture of blood from that of the purer German stocks, it is hard to say. No one really knows what difference to the mental quality of a people blood does make, as compared with the influences which operate in the intellectual and moral sphere. The "type" is, in most of these regions, now quite German; indeed, Pomerania, with its Slavonic name,¹ is deemed to be one of the most Prussian parts of the Prussian kingdom.

A somewhat similar process has been in progress for the last five centuries in Russia. The original Russians were two closely allied groups of Slavs:

¹ Po More, near the sea, as Prussia is Po Russia. The original Prussians were Lithuanians.

the northern having its centres at Novgorod and Moscow, the southern at Kiev. They have now Slavonised many Finnic tribes that dwelt to the north-east and east as far as the Ural Mountains, Mordvins and Tchuvasses and Tcheremisses and Votiaks, and sundry others; and similarly various Turkic tribes that dwelt to the south-east, of whom only those that are Mussulman in faith still remain distinct. By this gradual and scarcely noticed process, the language, manners, religion and mental type of the more advanced and better organised race was (as in Baltic Germany) gradually, and in Northern Russia with comparatively little bloodshed, accepted by rather than forced upon the weaker. No racial conflict showed itself, because no race consciousness existed. Out of all these peoples only one refused, and still refuses, to be Russified. This people is the Finns of Finland. When the Russian Czar became their sovereign in the beginning of the nineteenth century, they had enjoyed for some generations a civilisation received from Sweden, and through it, and by their own cultivated intelligence, they were fully the equals of the Russians. Till questions arose between Finland and the Czars within our own time, no racial issue was raised. The Finns have now developed a strong national feeling, not without stimulation from the study of their ancient lays and legends.

In another region where grave antagonisms have recently appeared, the contact of divers races was causing, some centuries ago, very little irritation. In Hungary and Transylvania the Magyar element was dominant, when not overborne by Turkish rule; but not till some time after the Napoleonic

wars did there begin to be talk of antagonism between Magyars, whether nobles or peasants, and the subject Slavs or Roumans. In Bohemia, however, the antagonism of the Czechs to the then much smaller German element was visible as early as the fifteenth century, and found expression in the quarrels that distracted the University of Prague. These quarrels were not purely racial, but complicated with the religious disputes of the Hussites and the orthodox Catholics, and with scholastic disputes between the Nominalists (mostly Germans) and the Realist Party which embraced the bulk of Czech teachers and students.

For other illustrations of the phenomena that arise where races originally different dwell together under the same sovereign, we need not go beyond our own islands, where the Gael of Scotland and Ireland and the Cymry of Wales stood over against the Sassenach, who had come across the sea into Celtic lands. There is always a certain slight repulsion between peoples speaking different tongues and with characters markedly unlike. Traces of such repulsion were to be, and may possibly still be, found in Wales, where I remember, just fifty years ago, to have noted among the English on the border, a slight measure of scorn for what they thought the excitable instability of the Welsh, and where the latter secretly resented what seemed to them the brusque and overbearing ways of the English.

In Scotland there was some antagonism between the Celts of the northern hills and the English-speaking Lowlanders, whose cattle were apt to be driven off by the clansmen; and even in the middle of the eighteenth century Clydesdale and Galloway

had not forgotten the devastation wrought by that "Highland Host" which the ministers of Charles the Second had launched against the Covenanters. It was Walter Scott and Robert Burns who created Scottish nationality and made Scotsmen of both stocks proud each of the other, just as it was Scott who, in *Rob Roy* and *Waverley*, as well as in *The Lady of the Lake*, has given us the liveliest picture of the two peoples while still unblent. Yet was not Scott himself, in that striking passage¹ where the chief of Clan Alpine casts at the Saxon Fitzjames the defiance of the ancient tribes of Alban, importing into the men of the sixteenth century ideas and sentiments that were the product of his own historic imagination? Roderick Dhu is made to say—

"The Gael, of plain and river heir,
Shall with strong hand redeem his share."

Clan Alpine hated the Lowlanders. But can the thought of a secular strife of Celt and Saxon have filled the breasts of wild MacGregors who fought as fiercely against the Celtic Macdonalds and Macfarlanes to the north and west of them as they did against the "Saxon" nobles of Lenox and Menteith?

A lingering trace of the old mutual repulsion appears in the dislike which Thomas Carlyle, a typical Lowlander of peasant stock, expressed for the wife of Thomas Campbell, the poet, with her Highland accent and manner. This critical spirit might have mollified Samuel Johnson, one of whose complaints against the Scotch was their too frequent appreciation of one another's merits: "No, sir, the

¹ In the fifth canto of *The Lady of the Lake*.

Irish are a fair people. They never speak well of one another.”

The strife of the Celt and Teuton is commonly supposed to have been more accentuated in Ireland than elsewhere. But it was observed long ago, and observed truly, that the Anglo-Norman adventurers who conquered the best lands of that island, soon became more Irish than the Irish themselves (*ipsis Hibernis Hiberniores*). The offspring of Cromwell's soldiers, settled in Tipperary, grew to be the White-boys and Ribbonmen who gave so much trouble in the earlier half of last century. They were few among many of the aboriginal population. It was only in the north-east corner of Ulster where a pretty large and compact mass of Scots settlers had been planted that the new element remained distinct, and this was due more to religion than to race. Sixty years ago the Presbyterian farmers, dwelling on the richer lands in the low country, continued to speak broad Scotch, and talked of the Roman Catholics who had been driven into the glens of Antrim and the Mourne Mountains in Down as “thae Eerish.”

As regards the island generally, the sentiment of a separate Irish nationality seems to date from the strife, first over land and then over religion also, which began in the time of Elizabeth. And even in the days of the United Irishmen and the rebellion of 1798, national feeling was not distinctively racial. The chiefs of the Irish National party were men of English or Scottish origin, like Wolfe Tone and Thomas Russell (both Protestants), and their Presbyterian allies in Belfast, such as Orr and McCracken. The first Irishmen who were permeated

by Celtic traditions, or who used the Irish language and the achievements of Irish heroes for popular agitation, seem to have been Thomas Moore in literature, and in politics Daniel O'Connell, the end of whose career some of us now living can remember.¹ Those who talk of "two nations in Ireland" generally mean that the one consists of the Gaelic aborigines, the other of the English and Scottish immigrants. But if there be any truth or fitness at all in the expression—a question which be it far from me to discuss—neither of such nations would consist wholly of Celtic, neither wholly of Teutonic blood.

If there were time here and now to pass from the Old World to the New, for the sake of examining the phenomena of racial relations in those parts of the western hemisphere which were thickly peopled when the Spanish conquerors arrived, these phenomena would be found to point to conclusions much the same as those we have noted in the Old World. That the American aborigines inspired in the invaders no general sense of repulsion appears from the fact that intermarriage began from the first. It went on so largely that in these countries, Argentina and Uruguay alone excepted, the bulk of the population is to-day either native Indian or mixed. There may be some few hundred thousand pure Spaniards in Mexico, and nearly as many in Chile and in Cuba (the mixture in that island being with negroes, not Indians), but in the other republics a smaller proportion. Between the Mestizos (men of mixed blood) and the pure-blooded Europeans there exists no

¹ O'Connell convoked a great meeting to be held at Clontarf, where Brian Boromhe defeated the Danes and Icelanders.

social separation, much less enmity. Persons of mixed race are practically reckoned as white. The aboriginal Indians are on a lower level, being uneducated, some of them day labourers for the whites, some uncivilised and living in a tribal state. They are not disliked by the upper class, and they bear to the latter no hatred beyond that aloofness and timorous suspicion which they naturally feel for those who despise and in some places oppress them. It was long-continued injustice and oppression that produced the only great Indian revolt, that led by Tupac Amaru against the Spanish Viceroy of Peru in 1780. Race sentiment has never been a factor in the politics of Latin America (except in so far as the oppressed, who are nearly all of the aboriginal race, dislike the oppressors); and such sentiment has indeed been always much weaker among the South European peoples than among the Teutonic. In Brazil as in South-east Africa, the Portuguese are not unwilling to contract marriages with mulattos or quadroons.

Into the large and painful question of the relations of the coloured race with the whites in the Southern States of the North American Union I need not enter. Its present acuteness is due not only to the fact of antecedent slavery, but to the unwise policy followed in the first years after the Civil War of handing over the lately conquered States to be governed by white adventurers, put and kept in office by negro votes.

As the United States is the most striking instance of the power of a strong and well-defined national type to impress itself on all accretions to the original population giving unity to all the white people of a

blood now more mixed than can be found anywhere else in the world, so Canada is an instance of how easy it is for two races to remain quite distinct under the same government, if each of them dwells by itself in its own district. The French-speaking Canadians have not been perceptibly Anglicised (except as regards their political habits) during the century and half that has seen them included in the Dominion. Fortunately the absolutely equal share they enjoy in self-government and the growth of a sentiment of Canadian national pride, has prevented any ill feeling between the two races.

If this hasty survey of the facts be correct, it has shown us that down till the days of the French Revolution there had been very little in any country, or at any time, of self-conscious racial feeling. In the ancient world it is discoverable only among the Greeks and Phœnicians, for the national sentiment of Israel was religious rather than racial: in the mediæval world it is scarcely visible at all, being obscured by religious attraction or repulsion. There were plenty of struggles between communities (tribes and cities and kingdoms) belonging to some one particular branch of mankind, and communities belonging to some other branch, because political communities have tended to form themselves upon lines of local habitation and of speech. But, however much men of different races may have striven with one another, it was seldom any sense of racial opposition that caused their strife. They fought for land. They plundered one another. They sought glory by conquest. They tried to force their religion on one another. Sometimes, in recent days, they have, as a means for enforcing uniformity, or rooting out

disaffection, tried to substitute their own language for that of the conquered, as the Danes did in Sleswig and the Prussians have been doing in Posen. But, strong as patriotism and national feeling might be, they did not think of themselves in the terms of ethnology and in making war for every other sort of reason never made it for the sake of imposing their own type of civilisation. When a subject community sought to shake off the tyrannical rule of another, Race was not its war-cry. When the Dutch rose against Philip II of Spain, it was religion that moved them, as it was national feeling that roused the Portuguese against the Spanish king in 1640. In none of such cases did the thought of racial distinctions come to the front.

In our own time things are altogether different. The world is full of the rival pretensions and jarring claims of races. We see many a human group with a blood which it thinks its own—mixed as it may often be—and at any rate, with a speech and traditions of its own, chafing under the dominance of some alien people, and eager either to stand alone or to unite with groups of a kindred stock.¹ Not to speak of Greek and Armenian Christians under the barbarous sway of the Turk, there is in Europe an *Italia irredenta*. There are Slavs and Roumans restless under the rule of Magyars, Czechs dissatisfied with their position in the Austrian monarchy,

¹ A grotesque instance of the way in which crude ethnological notions may be twisted to political uses was furnished by a small group of discontented Hindus and ex-Fenian Irishmen, with some rather tepid support from a few German-Americans, who, several years ago, formed in the United States what they called a "Pan-Aryan League," to overthrow what they called "the Robber Power of England."

Bulgarian Macedonians complaining of having been placed beneath Serb dominion, Danes of North Sleswig anxious to be reunited to Denmark, Poles and Finns asking for autonomy. A great Slavonic power has assumed the championship of all the various Slavonic peoples, and they rally to her on the ground of racial kinship.¹ Another great nation claims to reunite all who anywhere speak any form of its tongue, and having discovered the completest kind of efficiency in learning, in science, and in the arts of material life—whether or no in the moral sphere also, I will not venture to inquire—it proposes to extend the benefits of this type to other peoples, and tells mankind, almost in the language of an advertisement, that when it can supply the Best they must be content with no other. Even we ourselves seem to have raised apprehensions by too frequently coupling Britannia's name with the waves, and have been accused—of course by those who do not know how essentially modest we are—of claiming that we alone have discovered how to combine peace, freedom and empire. Other examples that might be given will occur to your minds.

National pride and a traditional rivalry more pervasive and more evident than before are tending to degenerate into international hatreds. Why is this happening in a time when the peoples know more of one another than they ever did before, and are linked by a far more active commerce as well as by

¹ Before the Panslavic movement, which is quite recent, had attained importance, Louis Napoleon, when he ruled in France, tried to assert for her a sort of hegemony of the so-called "Latin races," and used this pretext to justify his invasion of Mexico. The experiment did not succeed, nor was the claim he made for France recognised either in Italy or in Spain.

co-operation in the labours of science? Why was the racial element in national feeling so seldom visible, and so weak when visible, in earlier days? Why so little race consciousness in ancient or mediæval times?

The reason seems to be that men had till recently thought little about the matter at all. In the ancient world and the mediæval world they, of course, noticed the differences in aspect and language and in the stage of progress attained which marked off from one another different branches of the human family. No traveller had ever a more intelligent curiosity than Herodotus, and he often describes the characteristics of races, sometimes touching also upon their languages. But the ancients had no notion of the classification of languages and of the ethnical affinities of the peoples. They had not learnt to talk of Indo-Europeans and Semites and Turanians, nor had they been told that the Aryan started from the slopes of the Hindu Kush, driving his cattle before him, and fared always westward till he arrived at the Ocean House at San Francisco in a motor-car. They had no anthropology and ethnology, just as they had no geology, though the different strata in the earth's crust were there for them to see, and they could have examined the fossils therein just as we do. Their minds had not been turned to the subject. That Greeks were superior to barbarians, as, in later ages, that Christians were better than Muslims or idolaters, was enough for them.

We have now reached, if this sketch be in its broad features correct—I am far from claiming that it is more than roughly true, for many qualifications

might have to be made in the details—the following conclusions—

That in early times there were strong tribal instincts and tribal antagonisms, but no more general hostility between different racial groups than existed between tribes or peoples of kindred stock :

That in the progress of civilisation tribal instincts and antagonisms were largely superseded by antagonisms based on the rivalry of political communities, and of their sovereigns, as well as (after the rise of Christianity and Islam) by religious enmities :

That although there was always an undercurrent of tribal instinct or racial feeling, these sentiments became powerful only when reinforced by religious passion or by the lust of conquest :

That the modern sentiment of Nationality, based at first chiefly on community of language literature and historical traditions, was visible before the end of the eighteenth century, and grew rapidly during the nineteenth, taking, as it grew, more and more of a racial character.

The question follows: How came it that the sense of Race Consciousness, running underground, so to speak, during so many centuries, suddenly emerged to become a tremendous force in international relations, a sort of dialytic power capable of breaking up kingdoms and dragging their component parts in different directions?

Several reasons may be suggested for your consideration.

The American Revolution, and after it the French Revolution, aroused in the peoples a sense of what

one may call their collective political world-life as well as of their right to share in the government at home. Henceforth, popular sentiment became a factor in international relations as well as in domestic questions. The nation, which had formerly left international politics to its sovereign, throwing itself into whatever wars he or the ruling class might undertake, now realised itself as a force among the forces of the world at large. Finding its unity in its common blood, it attached a new value to the racial bond. Rivalries and wars, hitherto merely dynastic, had now become popular. Simultaneously, racial groups that lay under alien dominion awoke to the feeling that freedom could be won only by rejecting the external power that held it down by arms. Thus the principle of Nationality inspired Greeks and Italians and Poles and Magyars, and still later, Serbs, Roumans, Bulgarians, and Armenians; being, in these last-named cases, powerfully reinforced by religious feeling. Thus in Germany the movement for popular self-government, which burst forth in 1848, went hand in hand with the movement for political unity under a national government, and tended to die down when unity had been attained and when power and prosperity, rather than freedom, became the national ideals. The old traditions of each people were filled with a new spirit. Race consciousness sprang into life and became the core of Nationality.

While these spiritual forces were growing stronger, the progress of science was enabling the larger nations to spread out their trade and their emigrants beyond the seas. The rivalry of nations extended itself into new fields. Competition in manufacture

and in world commerce became brisk. Territory and colonies were desired for the sake of the wealth they might bring to the mother country; and the aggressive ambition which had formerly stirred monarchs was now transferred to the peoples striving in the vaster arena of the world and each feeling its pride challenged and its efforts stimulated by the progress of its rivals.

Meanwhile the learned had been at work in exploring the fields of history and philology. The origins of the several families of mankind were investigated and their affinities set forth. The old annals were edited and republished, the old poems popularised. The ancient exploits of the race were held up to admiration, and each people was supplied by historians and poets with fuel to feed the flame of national pride. It was all natural, and in one sense it was laudable. Men's souls are raised by the recollection of great deeds done by their forefathers. But the study of the past has its dangers when it makes men transfer past claims and past hatreds to the present. A sage friend remarked to me lately while we were discussing the complications of South-eastern Europe: "How much better if we could get rid of history altogether!" The learned men and the literary men, often themselves intoxicated by their own enthusiasms, never put their books to a worse use than when they filled each people with a conceit of its own super-eminent gifts and merits.

A great German writer, to whom the possession of a second and older nationality gave an unusual detachment and breadth of view, saw the evil that lurked in this undue exaltation of racial sentiment. Heinrich Heine more than once warned his countrymen against the vanity and bigotry it might tend

to foster, and bade them hope for a time when reason rather than prejudice would rule the minds of peoples and guide them to liberty and peace—"the peace of the world as well as peace within their own borders."¹

Heine's counsel has not been taken in his own country, or perhaps in any other. Possibly, indeed, the world has in this respect gone back rather than forward. Those of us whose recollection extends over half a century sometimes think that there was then a stronger sense of the allegiance which the members of every nation owe to Humanity, and a more general sympathy with the efforts of backward peoples towards freedom and progress than the last few decades have shown. We are often told that the advance of democracy is tending to dispose nations to peace. It may be so, though longer experience is needed before this can be deemed certain. But democracy has not, so far, made nations less selfish or less vain of their own greatness.

That glorification of national virtues and achievements on which I have been dwelling, might at other times have been a harmless form of pleasure. But it came at a time of keen rivalry, when everything that tended to stimulate racial vanity

¹ Cf. *Französische Zustände* and *Reisebilder II*, 29. I owe these two references to the kindness of Mr. Joseph R. Fisher.

In the diverting poem (written in 1844) which begins with the lines—

"Das ist der Teutoburger Wald,
Den Tacitus beschrieben—
Das ist der klassische Morast
Wo Varus stecken geblieben"—

Heine expends his satiric wit upon the extravagant Teutonism which had made its appearance even in his time.

was caught up and used by those statesmen and other leaders who sought to embark on policies of expansion and aggression even at the cost of rousing national jealousies or embittering national animosities. We all know how vanity may, in individual men, become a powerful spring of action, and intensify energy even while it disturbs the balance of judgment. It is the same with nations. When convinced of their own superiority they may wish to assert it by force, contemning their neighbours, and fancying that they hold a commission from Providence or Fate to improve the rest of the world against its will.

As we see to-day that science has made war more hideous and terrible, so we must also confess that learning and literature have done something to prepare nations for war. A sounder learning and a deeper insight might have corrected this danger and taught the peoples that they have at least as much to gain by co-operation as by competition and more to gain from friendship than from hatred. But there is a faculty in man that is sometimes prone to choose the evil and reject the good.

One topic more remains on which a few words may be said: What is likely to be the future of Races and of that racial sentiment whose strength we see to-day?

Everything points to a reduction of the number of human stocks and languages. The weaker will disappear, some by extinction, as in the case of many small aboriginal tribes in Africa, for instance, and in the two Americas, and in the isles of the Pacific. Where two stocks dwell together on the same ground the stronger type will assimilate and

absorb the weaker. In the days of Herodotus, there may have been eighty or a hundred languages spoken in the countries all round the Mediterranean; to-day there are about a dozen. In the whole world there are barely two dozen that possess literatures and are likely to hold their ground, for a race without a language of its own seldom remains for long unabsorbed by its neighbours.

When races dwell together on the same ground, or in close proximity, as the Magyars and Saxons live among or close to the Roumans in Transylvania, or the Lithuanians near to Poles and Russians, or the Ainos among the Japanese, the more numerous or otherwise stronger element ultimately absorbs the weaker. Intermarriage is a more potent factor in the blending process than government or commerce; and intermarriage always goes on except where checked by differences of colour or differences of religion. Even these two causes of separation may not be permanent. The latter at any rate seems likely to lose some of its power, and colour repulsion is strong only among the Teutonic peoples. In the competition of races the principle holds: "To him that hath shall be given." The races already great become greater, absorbing or assimilating the smaller, so that a time seems likely to arrive when a few great races, perhaps only six or seven, will practically divide the world between them. Which of these races will also constitute great States it is of course vain to conjecture. We have some data for forecasting the future of languages and races, but none fit to be made the basis of any political speculations beyond the next forty years.

As the number of ethnic groups diminishes and

as each of those that survive becomes more unified by the dominance of one national type, it may seem natural to expect that in each of them race consciousness will become more intense. If we can guess at the future from the recent past, the pride and the rivalry evident to-day may probably continue, perhaps become even more pronounced. It need not, however, be assumed that these feelings will necessarily lead to more strife. Race sentiment, taken alone, has never been a cause of war: it has merely aggravated other grounds of enmity; and even now it is not so much itself a motive for self-assertion as a particular form of national vanity. When the quarrels of South-eastern Europe have been settled—as it may be hoped they will be—by a due recognition of ecclesiastical and racial sentiment and a consequent redrawing of the present ethnologically indefensible frontiers, a period of stability may set in which will allow race passions to subside. It may also be suggested that when the suspended struggles between Capital and Labour are resumed, nations will be too much divided by these troubles to attack their neighbours; and that among the labouring masses a sense of class solidarity with the workers in other countries may override national arrogance and the sense of racial unity, and may check the spirit of aggression. Those who last June saw in such international class solidarity a guarantee of peace have been disappointed, just as those also have been undeceived who expected commercial interests to hold back the dogs of war. Yet it is possible that in the years of exhaustion which must follow the present measureless destruction of life as well as wealth,

economic issues may leave little room for any others.

How unpredictable is the action of the forces that govern the affair of states we have now all learnt to our astonished grief. Things undreamt of sixty, forty, twenty years ago have happened. A racial quarrel has lit up a war on a scale vaster than the world had seen before, for more than half mankind is involved. An invading army has carried sudden ruin and slaughter over a peaceful country—

“Amazement in their van with Terror joined,
And Sorrow’s faded form, and Solitude behind.”

Yet even this cataclysm of violence and suffering need not make us despair of the future. Its lesson is that the doctrines and passions—deep-rooted passions—whence these evils spring, can be removed only by the slow and steady working of great spiritual forces. What the world needs is an elimination of the feelings which in most—perhaps in all—nations make for jealousy and hatred, which prompt men to defiance and aggression. The situation is in some respects worse than in the days when dynastic ambitions were the chief cause of war, for it was then possible to arrange a settlement by family alliances, whereas to-day the passions of whole peoples are involved. Whatever condemnation may be passed—and justly passed—upon reckless leaders and a ruthless caste that lives for and worships war, it is the popular sentiment behind them, the exaggeration of racial vanity and national pretensions, that has been and is the real source of mischief, for without such sentiments no caste could exert its baleful power. Such senti-

ments are not confined to any single nation, and they are even more widespread in the wealthier and more educated classes than in the humbler. As it is largely by the educated, by students and writers as well as by political leaders, that the mischief has been done, more or less everywhere, even if most conspicuously in one country, so it should be the function and the privilege of thinkers and writers as well as of practical men to enforce a broader, saner, and more sympathetic view of the world as a vast community, in which every race has much to give and much to receive, to point out that it is by the co-operation, unconscious but unceasing, by the reciprocal teaching and learning of the more gifted races, that all progress has been achieved. Perfection is attained not by the ascendancy of any one form of excellence, but by the blending of what is best in many different forms.¹ Every race and nation needs to learn that it ought not, even in its own interest, to desire predominance, nor strive to impose its own type on the world; and needs to recognise that it exists not solely for its own good but for that of its fellow-creatures also, and owes a moral responsibility to the whole human family.

A general recognition of such principles may seem to be a long way off, but is there anything left for men of good will to do save to work patiently towards such an end, with faith in the spiritual forces and in the ultimate victory of truth?

“It is more blessed to give than to receive.” This may seem to be a hard saying which no race or nation will accept. Yet ought not the highest

¹ Ἐκ τῶν διαφερόντων καλλίστη ἄρμονια.

pride of a nation to be in what it can give to others out of its own abundance? As we honour the great figures of the past, legislators and discoverers, artists and poets, for what they have bequeathed to us, ought not a people also to be chiefly honoured for the services it renders, and for the gifts it bestows upon all mankind, and will not posterity count this to be its truest glory?





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